20: Seck U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS 37

ooo

Dakar
/Dakar/

by Assane Seck

Bordeaux: 1961
Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer
Vol. 14, pp. 372-392

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title Page/

/372/

369 [361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

[113]

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of [563] whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14° 487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113]

3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, P. 11 -- Analyst]

/373/

369 36 [131 487] therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île [113] du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths [133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the 369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and, 175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible [579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a gerontotheocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

[369]
[175]
[113]

/373 cont./
presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/375 cont./

102
133

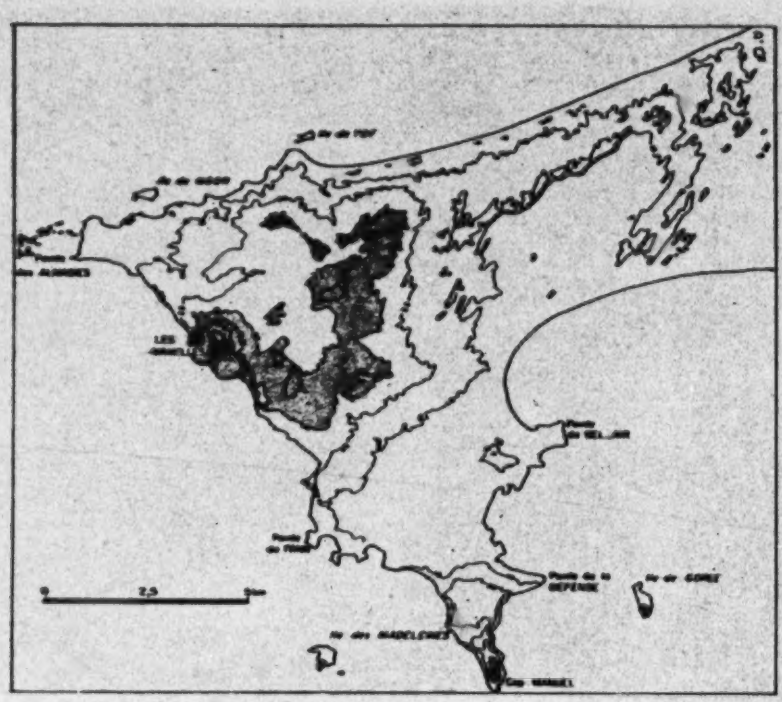


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A). 7 A

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[912]

Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 A [See category 116, p. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 369 [919] [505] [504] name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort, from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But [633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 369 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that [912] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

1 [i.e., The Port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 369 712 the support point for the whole military organization of the West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902. Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

[113]

369 648 This phase of the construction of the port was accompanied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3).*

369 [505] As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures, [504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

* [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/376 cont./

369
504

1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113]

12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958. Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439]

This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 439 504 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 439 487 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old maritime or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. [505] The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 [505] The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated [162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the commune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, [633] and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 633 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple electoral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be incapable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing [362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious great city.

369 505 496 487 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy, but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis, finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity, especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products destined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path [439] of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart. But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of isolating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).

369 [633] Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administrative centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis, continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of violent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to anything.

369 505 439 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

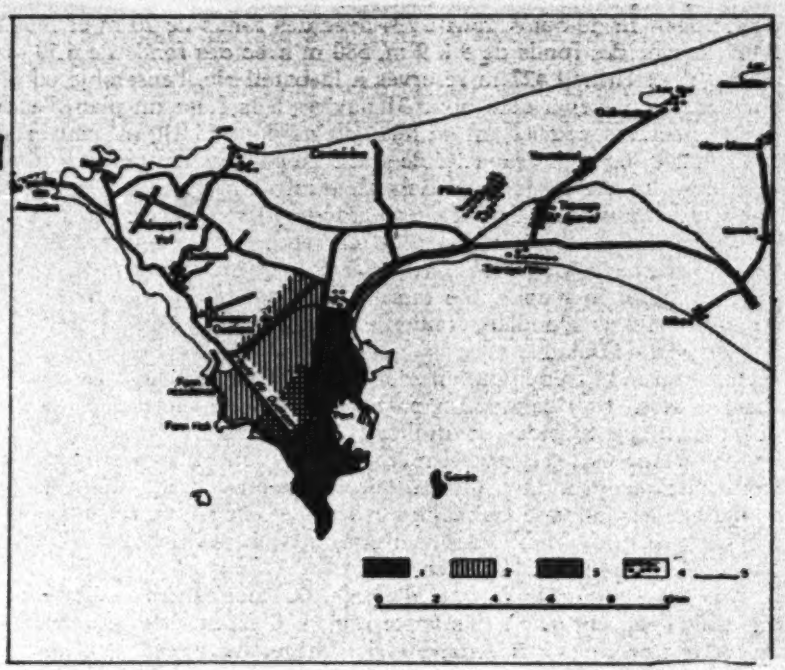


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369
505
439
[441]
groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633
The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 633 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As 369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port 505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had 504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque [633] had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 505 439 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

ooo at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [491] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI

361

A. Gorée.

Photo. IFAN.

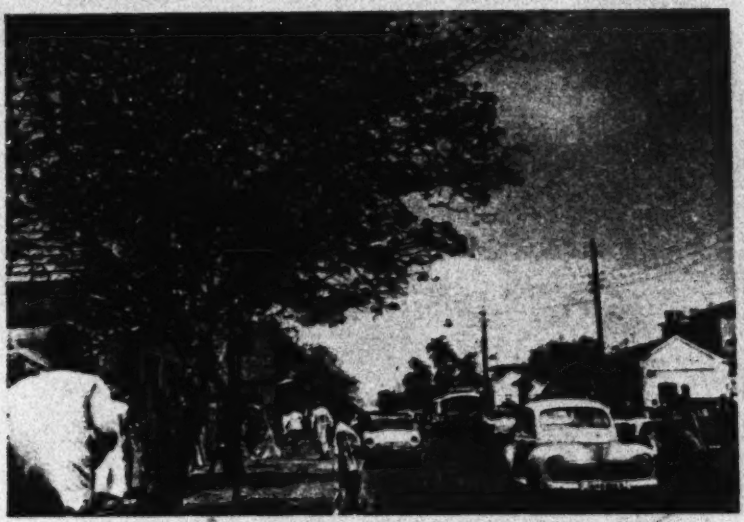
363
342

B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Pasteur Building). Photo. Assane Seck.

20: Seck--16 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXII

363
493
139



A. The avenue Blaise-Diagne.

363
139

B. A street in the old Mèdina. Street 13, Corner 6. Photo. Assane Seck.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The City. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369
162
[113]

1958. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 35: 1910, 24.000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369
563
162

This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

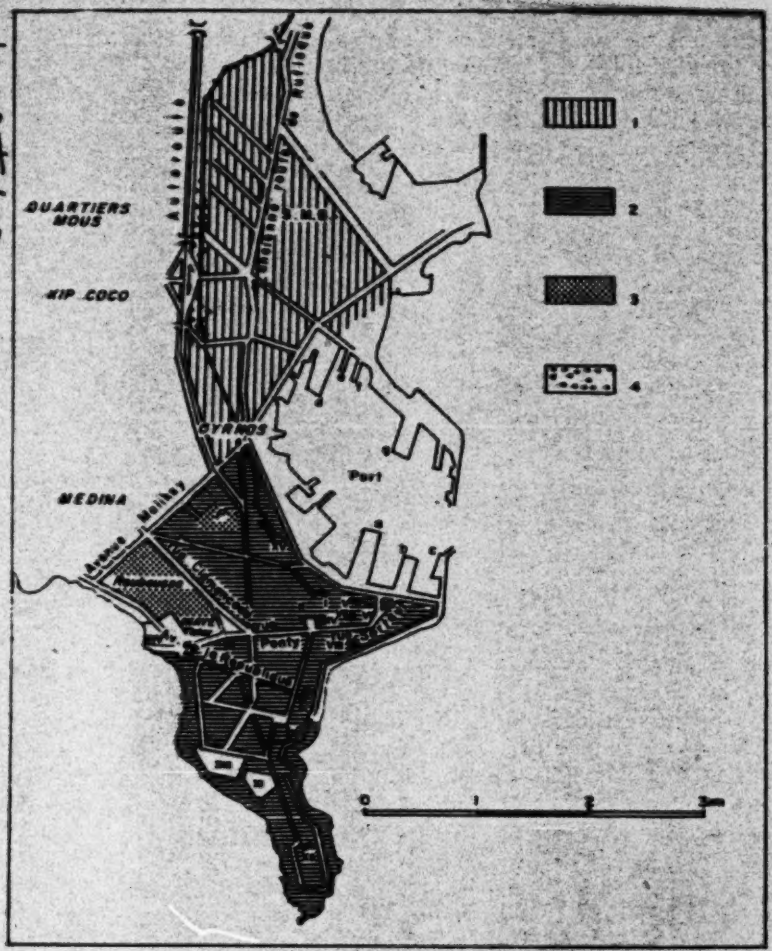


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni.. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a

[166]

region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10%

[744]

children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 563 166 162 464 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resident originally from the same village or merely from the same region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average much higher among the first than among the second, one finds in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 511 563

369 563 [361] This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the normal category of West African cities, where a white city and a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly, Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

[416]

/385 cont./

369 563 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics; [164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time. [361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar. [113]

[167] [352] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection [361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives. /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

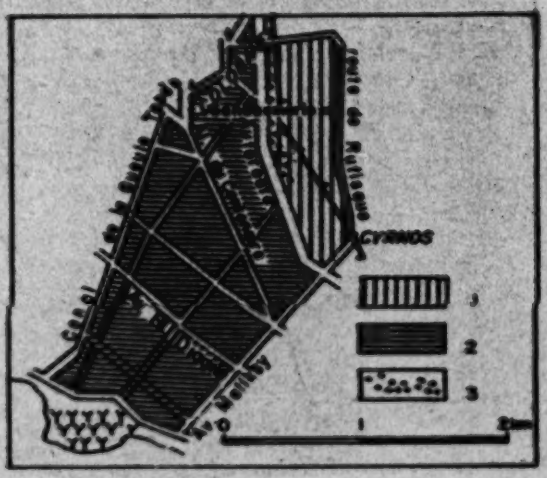


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[366] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O., Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

369 Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
361 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often
[563] more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and [363] in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during [364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom [563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, [764] the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east [363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are [364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).1/A

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between [363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some [364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).2/A/Pl. XXIII and

1/A [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]
2/A [See category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular
[893] quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials
[452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu-
[162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than
[563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of P. 31--Analyst]

20: Seck--29 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIII

363
342

[415]

A. A street beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne.

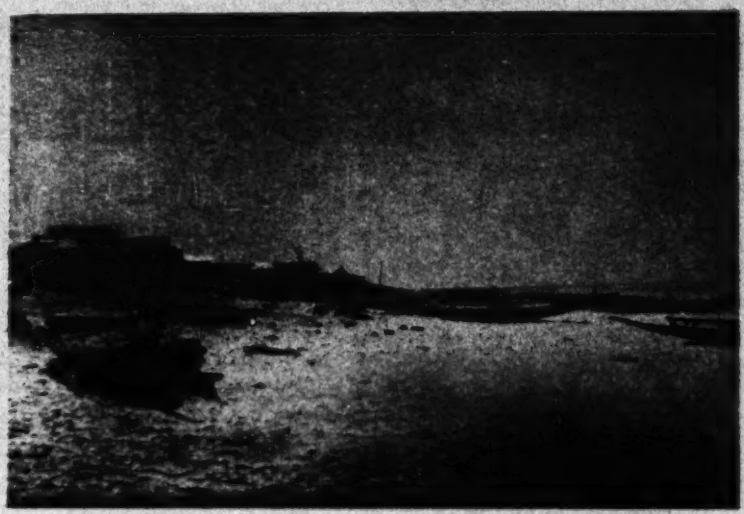
B. Remote suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

20: Seck--30 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIV

501
361



A. Yoff, suburb of fishermen.

361

B. Thiaroye, truck-gardening suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

/389/

108
361
363
873
712

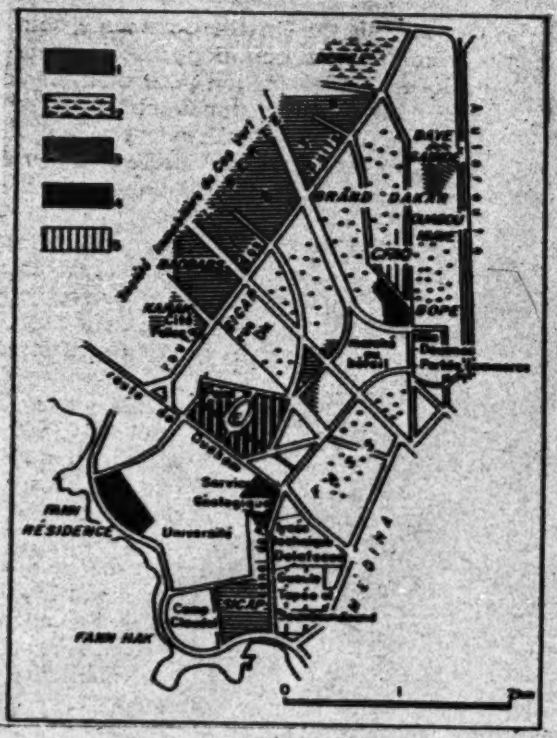


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H. L. M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[62]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/391 cont./

102
491
496
487
433

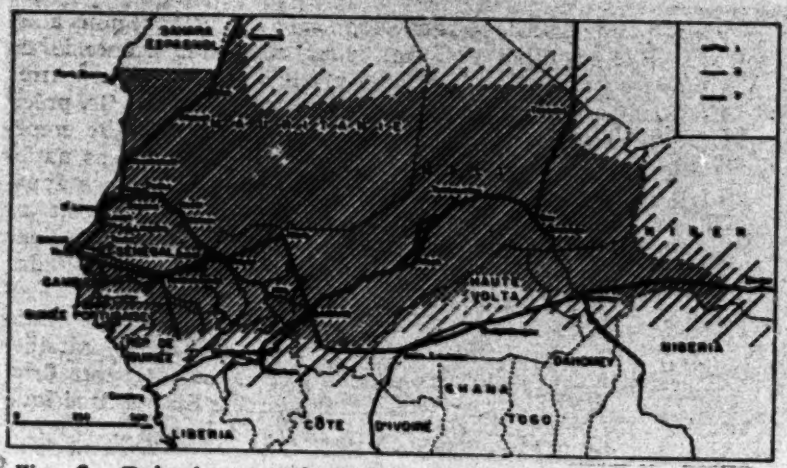


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369
433
439

Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West Africa through the role of management that the administrative offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same
439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already
[505] strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113] 25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont./

369 433 439 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in the eventuality of the formation of a West African common market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.